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WOMEN'S CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF TORONTO.

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TRANSACTION NO. 5

..OF..

THE WOMEN'S CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF TORONTO

Organized November 19th, 1895

Incorporated February 14th, 1896

C

"Deeds Speak"

Women's Canadian Historical Society

OF TORONTO

TRANSACTION No. 5

I. Extracts from Jarvis Papers.

1. Details of the Capture of York.
2. Account of Magistrates following Capture.
3. General Order.
4. Account of Council held at Kingston.
5. Letters, Wm. Jarvis, etc.

II. Plattsburg. (1814.) From the Diary of J. H. Wood.

1. Reflections on Plattsburg.

III. Extracts from Papers of Captain H. Pringle.

IV. Order Concerning Presentation of the King's Colors. (1822.)

V. Papers Concerning Rupert George, Captain of H. M. S. "Hussar." (1794.)

VI. Some U. E. Loyalist Epitaphs. By Sara Mickle.

1905

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July 24, 1917

(Copy of papers lent by the late G. Murray Jarvis, Ottawa, and returned December 10th, 1894.)

DETAILS OF THE CAPTURE OF YORK, 27 APRIL, 1813.

(Copy of letter from ———.)

SIR:

On Monday, the 26th April, about 6 o'clock P.M., we received Intelligence that the Enemy's Squadron were in sight from the Highlands standing in-shore, about ten miles east of York. The signal guns were fired, and the Commanding General, Sir R. H. Sheaffe, appeared to have given the requisite Instructions to the officers under his Command, as at 8 o'clock he was found at Table smoking his segar and conversing on indifferent topics with his Adjt.-General of Militia and Surgeon of the Marine. The morning dawn was somewhat hazy, and about 5 o'clock report from the Telegraph stated that a fleet of 5 vessels was to be seen. About half-past five a Corvette of 28, and a Brig of 22, with 13 sail of schooners and sloops, carrying guns and Troops, passed the Telegraph, came along there, and after assembling opposite Val Tor, stood round the Point and came to anchor in a Position indicating an intended landing, near to the old French Fort. At this time we had two companies of the 8th, about 180 men, two weak companies of the Newfoundland, 40 men of Glengarry, a company of artificiers, six artillery men, and about 300 Militia, in all, 500 men.

Some difference of opinion existed as to the opposing or admitting the landing. It was opposed, but effected under cover of the shipping, with little loss to the invading force, and very great to the Grenadiers of the Kings, whose gallant Captain, McNeil, was killed at the first landing, with about 30 of his men. They were embarrassed by an order to retreat to the woods, where the American Rifle Corps, now landed, had great advantage of them, and finally drove them in. As they retreated they were joined by the Militia, and suffered considerably from an accidental explosion of a Cartridge box at one of the 18lb Batteries. Being pressed by the enemy, the Troops retreated through the Garrison, and when the American Column had reached Gleggs Battery there was a tremendous explosion by the blowing up of the Magazine, which destroyed about 60 men of the Enemy, and among them their General Pike.

Had this moment of confusion been turned to advantage, a charge by our rallied force would have routed the enemy, divided and panic-struck by the dreadful Catastrophe they witnessed without knowing the precise cause. Such, however, was not our fate. Gen. Sir R. H. Sheaffe made a stand at the ravine, between Elmsleys house and the Bay, where, after a short consultation, he decided to abandon the Town & retreat to Kingston with the regular Troops & his Staff. Having adopted this resolution, he authorized Lt.-Col. Chewett & Major Allan, of the York Militia, to treat with the Enemy, &

instantly proceeded on his March. The Terms proposed were liberal and satisfactory, but just as they were signed the destruction of the naval Storehouse became obvious, and the arrangement deferred for by the General Dearborn. A persuasion that the order to burn the ship and Store was given subsequent to the direction to treat had nearly lost the inhabitants all their property. It required time and all the resolution of the negotiators, aided by the active and vigorous mind of the Rev. Dr. Strachan, to obtain a ratification, which was short of the original Minute, and was at last conceded to the spirited representation of Col. Mitchell and Major King,* who had settled the original articles. During the interval from the retreat of the Troops to this ratification, the Inhabitants were exposed to every species of Insult and Plunder, chiefly by our own people. Upon a strong presentation by the judges,† the criminals have been poured forth from the gaol. General Dearborn declared that it had not been his intention that the functions of the civil Magistrates should cease; that he was ignorant of the gaol being opened, and that Buildings, public as well as private, should be respected.

The parliament Houses being burned the next morning, the Judges and Magistrates waited upon Genl. Dearborn with a strong declamation of the full benefit of the capitulation, and to enforce it by a General order to his army to respect the public Ministers of the Law.

This was also promised, & to a certain extent performed, and the Magistrates immediately swore in the principal housekeepers as Constables. All their officers disowned the plunder of private property, which they could not prevent. Two Exceptions to this should be mentioned, for the sake of the others. An officer, lodged in Mr. Cruikshanks house, plundered his cellars. He is known, & it has been said, was in arrest. Another plundered a valuable silver Tea equipage, which he bore about with him in a handkerchief publicly. He is known to Capt. Chauncey, who was present when he boast[ed] that it was a compensation for his loss at Ogdensburg.

A wretch, a british half-pay officer who had escaped from the fort, where he was confined on Indictment for a Criminal felony, was permitted to share the villainous invasion of the U. S., and as if in its service, direct two soldiers, who followed, to aggravate the evil of his being at large.

So circumstanced, the Inhabitants met and agreed to wait upon the Enemy's General, calling for effective performance of the terms of capitulation. This was done by a deputation, & the Minute B was read by the C[hief] Justice. Genl. Dearborn made a verbal answer that he had heard of Intention to burn the Council House, but had expressly forbidden it, and if we could discover the perpetrators they should be hung.

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* United States officers.

† The writer evidently intends to say that the judges protested against the liberation of the prisoners, though literally his words convey the opposite meaning.

Depredations of public and private property being carried on under pretence of Gifts for the General or his officers, the Magistrates continued doubtful how to act. Parties still coming on shore from the fleet, a Declaration, to be made public, was drawn up and signed by those present.

(Evidently an account of the meeting referred to above.)

At a meeting of the magistrates resident in the Town of York, attended by the judges, the sheriff and the Rev. Dr. Strachan, the actual situation of the town and district was taken into consideration.

The enemy's fleet and army lying in the harbor, all our military defences at the port destroyed, the inhabitants disarmed and on parole, it is obvious that measures of as much energy as our circumstances admit should be instantly adopted to preserve order and personal security, to support and encourage the loyal, to suppress the disloyal and so confirm the wavering.

It is therefore unanimously declared that by the irruption of the enemy and temporary possession of this post no change has taken place in the relation of the subject to His Majesties' Government or laws, except as by such who were parties to the capitulation as prisoners of war and are under Parole of Honor not to bear arms until exchanged;

That it is equally now as before the invasion high Treason to aid, assist, counsel or comfort the enemy;

That all felons and evil doers are equally answerable to the laws as before; that the powers of the Magistrates and members of the Law are unimpaired and continued to be so even during the actual possession of the Enemy, as the Commander of these Forces declared by a Military General order to his Troops;

That Private property having remained unchanged, not only by the construction of the Law, but by the express terms of the Capitulation, the enemy himself disclaims the right assumed by some Individuals to transfer it from the true owner;

That it is the duty of every good citizen to declare to the Magistrate all Instances of such unjust possession as may come to their knowledge, and of the Magistrates to enforce the restitution;

That all persons desirous to testify their abhorrence of anarchy, which must prevail if principles adverse to the above declaration gain ground, are called upon to associate in support of the laws and to afford their aid to the civil Magistrates and their ministers;

That the High Sheriff do publish and enforce this declaration.

N.B.—The American officers, as well of the General's staff, had pretended to give away the property of the Crown and Individuals to certain persons, sometimes merely gratuitously, at others under pretext of paying for or compensate services rendered during their possession of the town.

GENERAL ORDER.

HEADQUARTERS, YORK, April 30, 1813.

It is not the intention of the Generals that the occupancy of the Town and Garrison of York by the Forces of the United States should have any undue effect on the necessary functions of the civil magistrates. On the contrary, it is the wish of the commanding General to support the civil authority when properly exercised; and any representation of the civil magistrates of improper or irregular conduct on the part of the soldiery will be met by immediate and strict scrutiny.

(Signed) N. PINKNEY,
Major and Act'g Dpt. Adj.-Gen'l.

At a Council held at Kingston on Friday, fourth day of June, one thousand, eight hundred and thirteen.

Present—

His Hon. Sir Roger Hale Sheaffe, Bart., President; the Honorable Thomas Scott; the Honorable John McGill; the Honorable William Dummer Powell.

His Honor the President submitted to the consideration of the Board the propriety of issuing a proclamation calling the attention of the public to the laws respecting the property of the Crown. In addition to the former representation that much of the public stores at York had been plundered by individuals and were in their possession by pretended Gift from the Enemy, His Excellency the Governor-in-Chief has submitted that the army of General Vincent was in want of many of the articles of public property supposed to be so possessed, and expresses very strongly his sense of the necessity of some Act of Government to explain publickly the Law upon this subject, to apprise the ignorant of their contravention.

The Council hereupon discussed this deliberation and conceiving the expediency to be established by so high authority on sufficient grounds, and that its sanction only is wanted to the form of the Act, unanimously concur with His Honor, and advise that a proclamation be issued calling upon all His Majesties' subjects who by any means may be in possession of Public Stores or the property of the Crown to restore the same to the Sheriffs of the respective districts in which they may reside, or to such person as may be appointed by His Honor to receive it.

Approved.

(Signed) R. H. SHEAFFE, *President, etc.*

I.

REGIMENTAL ORDERS.

YORK, 18th March, 1813.

Lieut. S. Jarvis, 3rd Regt. York Militia :

SIR : You are hereby requested and desired to go into Garrison until further orders, and to join the Company under Captain Cameron, who has been directed to [take] charge of the Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates, who have been sent there for the relief of the late Flank Companies.

I have the honor to be

(Signed) W. CHEWETT,
Lt.-Col., 3rd Regt. Yk. Militia.

II.

To Lieutenant Saml. P. Jarvis :

Having received Authority from His Honor Major-General Sir Roger Hale Sheaff to raise a proportion of Volunteer Militia to be Incorporated According to Law, You have been recommended and Approved of by His Honor as a Lieutenant to Raise a proportion of Men. You are, therefore, authorized to proceed without loss of time to Raise the proportion According to your Rank.

York, 19th March, 1813. (Signed) W. ALLAN, Major.

III.

HEADQUARTERS, HEIGHTS OF BURLINGTON,

4th June, 1813.

DR SIR :

We all feel much obligation for the daily attentions which are hourly shewn us by our York friends, and I hope a future moment may arrive, when our mutual gratitude may be evinced in a manner more commeasurate to your kindness. Two of your sons are now with us, and nothing can exceed their willing disposition to render themselves useful. I have just given your son-in-law, Mr. Hamilton, a pass for Samuel to fetch Mrs. H. and family from the 20. I hope his object will not be defeated by any unlooked for event.

I take the liberty of sending to your care a few packages containing official and private papers belonging to my valuable friend, Colonel Meyers, the Quartermaster-General, who, poor fellow, received five wounds on the 27th, of which I am happy to say he is doing well. You will confer much obligation by allowing the packages to remain in a dry, secure place until fortune smiles on our efforts.

With best compts. to all your family.

I am dr. sir, very sincerely yrs.,

(Signed) J. B. GLEGG, Lieut.-Col.

IV.

(Enclosed in No. I.)

Articles sent in Charge of Doyle, Mr. St. George's servant, to be left with Secretary Jarvis, and belonging to Colonel Meyers.

One long deal box, marked with ink, *Myers.*

One very small hair trunk, with a card on it, Marked *Lieut.-Colonel Myers.*

One Portable Secretary, Strong Leather Case, Marked with Ink, L. C. M. (Signed) GEO. KNOLES,
Capt. 41st Reg.,
Dy. Ass. Q.-M. Gen.

V.

WILLOWBY, 28th Sept., 1814.

DEAR PARENTS:

I arrived here on Sunday and had a very pleasant passage; we left York about 12 o'clock, arrived at the 40 M. C. at 11 at night. Breakfasted there, left there about 10, arrived about a mile and half the other side of Nia[ga]ra Falls at 8 o'clock, left there at 7, arrived at Fort George at 12 o'clock A. M., left there for this place at 5, arrived at Fields at 7 o'clock, left there at 6 o'clock; breakfasted at Major Kirby's, and arrived here at 5 o'clock on Sunday. I saw Mrs. T. Nelles at the Forty. We are going to York as soon as we have done threshing wheat. Mr. Nair, of the Kings, was taken and wounded in the skirmish the other day. Stigin, of the De Wattevilles, was wounded in the head. Lapier severely wounded; they lost a great many officers. George Jarvis was taken, but made his escape. Miss Lawe was married on the 21st, to an officer of the Navy; I believe the Devil has got into all the Girls.

Major is appointed Assist. Adjt.-Genl. Will you tell Mrs. Thom I delivered all the stores to Mrs. Kirby, except the Black Silk handkerchief for W. Kerr, which I sent to him by a Sergeant of the Glengarrys. I saw Armstrong, he expects to go below in a short time. James has gone down to John Robertson's to see Allison. I hope McCormack has arrived safe with the rest of his goods. Love to papa. Harriet is better, I hope. George Kirby desires to be remembered to you all.

The express is just going.

With love to all, believe me to be your most affectionate son,
(Signed) WM. M. JARVIS.

Addressed William Jarvis, Esqre.,
etc., etc., etc.,
York.

VI.

STREETS GROVE, 8 Octr., 1814.

MY DEAR PARENTS:

Mr. Kemble leaves here this afternoon for York. The Americans have advanced, it is said, as far as Palmers, the other side of Black Creek, with 4,000 Men. 4,000 men are encamped under the mountain at Lewiston, under the command of Genl. Izard; it is supposed they will cross in a few [days]. Deserters say they are agoing to make an attack from Fort Erie, at the same time cross at Lewiston and attack us in our Rear. Alex. Hamilton talks of going to Montreal; he is very unwell. James received a letter from Saml. yesterday, that is for me. I have not received a line from any one of the Family since I left home. I suppose out of sight out of mind. We have just received an order to be in readiness to march at a Moment's warning. We are struck off of part of our rations, as there is but five days rations left for the whole army. Don't mention this again, if you do you will get me in a scrape. We had the promise of going to York after we had finished threshing wheat, instead of that, after we had finished that lot they set us cutting down the Trees this side of the Chippewa Creek. I suppose after we have finished that they will set us at something else. I suppose we shall see York when we return from Greenbush. Sir James Yeo has been kind enough to offer to bring up a Puncheon of Spirits and a Pipe of wine in the Fleet for every Regt. in the Right division; if he would bring up 2 or 3000 men it would be much better. Armstrong went past here the other day, on his way to Quebec. He expected to go down immediately, but I saw an order out to-day for him to remain until further orders. He will be much disappointed; he was to call at York on his way down, if he could. Mr. Kemble takes my watch to York, I broke the Glass the other day, which makes her useless to me; you may keep her now till I come Home. I am happy to hear Poor McCormack arrived safe. Genl. De Watteville and the Brigade-Major passed this [place] early this morning with a field-piece on the way to Chippewa. I suppose we shall follow him soon. Three of the Glengarrys went over the river the other day, remained all night in a House drinking, next morning returned; I believe, brought no news. In case of an alarm last night, all the Troops were to retire to the Beaver Dam. Mr. Kemble has called for my letter. I hope I shall here from you soon.

I remain, my dear parents,
Your most affectionate son,
(Signed) WM. M. JARVIS.

Addressed William Jarvis, Esquire,
Etc., etc., etc.,
York.

Favor of Mr. Kemble.

II.

PLATTSBURG, 1814.

Extracts from the Diary of Captain, afterwards Colonel J. H. Wood, R.A.

(Loaned by T. G. Wood, K.C.)

Montreal, Sept. 4th.—This day received a most unexpected order to proceed to Michilimackinac, in command of a detachment of twelve gunners, and a company of the 81st Regiment. It is situated near Lake Huron, 1000 miles above Montreal, shut out from the world and all active scenes of warfare. We are to proceed by the Grand or Ottawa River. I cannot describe my feelings on being thus banished.

The army (left division) are in full advance on Plattsburg, and we expect to hear of something being immediately carried into execution.

General Izzard, Commander-in-Chief American Army, has marched to Sackett's Harbor with 4000 men, no doubt fearing that Post will be our first attack. This force has been withdrawn from the Champlain frontier.

Sept. 5th.—To my great joy, an order reached me this morning to join the army without delay, an order I obey with the greatest pleasure and alacrity, escaping by it the dreaded trip up the Ottawa. Slade being next in seniority, takes this duty.

Left Montreal in the afternoon in light marching order, and arrived at L'Acadie, twenty-five miles, at 10.30, and trust that I shall join before operations commence.

Sept. 6th.—Marched from L'Acadie to Champlain, situated two or three miles within the lines. It is a considerable village and was occupied by the Head Quarters of the American Army, previous to our advance.

The Advance closed with the enemy and drove them through Plattsburg. They made attempts at a stand at Dead Creek, assisted by their Gun Boats, but were rapidly repulsed, and one of their Gun Boats suffered by our fire.

Sept. 7th.—Joined the army and found all operations suspended. The enemy have thrown themselves into some unfinished works and block houses (on the right bank of the Saranac), mounted with heavy Guns. Their fleet are lying at anchor in Plattsburg Bay. Several houses in the Town were set on fire by red hot shot from the enemy, and a flag of truce was sent in, proposing to extinguish it, which they declined, and kept up their fire, warmer than before.

Our Picquets occupy the Town, and are constantly engaged with the enemy's. Whenever they observe an individual they direct a volley; if more than one or two, a cannon shot. They are busily employed finishing their works and mounting heavy guns.

Report says that our troops should have been permitted to follow up and carry the works at a dash, but timidity and indecision appear to prevail, where energy and vigor ought to exist.

Sept. 8th.—The situations for the different batteries are fixed on, but little has been done towards constructing them.

I was ordered to reconnoitre Cumberland Head, to select a place for disembarking the two ten inch Mortars and Stores on their way from Isle au Noix, and reported its not being a safe place for that purpose, as the enemy's guard boats and row gallies were constantly on the lookout.

I was gratified to find that my being ordered to join the Army was owing to the particular request of the Commanding Officer of Artillery.

Sept. 9th.—Anniversary of the surrender of St. Sebastian. Owing to mistake and neglect nothing was done last night, towards finishing the Batteries on the right attack, and, in consequence, the service of the Senior Officer of Engineers were dispensed with by Sir George Prevost.

I was again ordered to reconnoitre the Lake shore, to discover a favorable spot for the disembarkation of stores, and rode down abreast of the Isle au Motte, where our fleet are lying at anchor.

The guns were ordered to be placed in Battery this night. We accordingly, at midnight, moved down and were proceeding to the batteries, when a heavy fire of musketry was thrown in upon the working parties, and shameful to relate, the covering party ran off, scarcely returning a shot, the whole running in upon our guns like a flock of sheep. It was at the moment supposed the enemy had discovered the work and made a sortie to destroy it. Supports were immediately ordered down, but the enemy had not crossed the river, and the Battery was untouched. This occurrence gave cause for a severe order from General Power, who commanded the Brigade, and occasioned the loss of one Officer and a few men. An American was also made prisoner, or he had deserted.

On examination, the Batteries were reported by the Commanding Officer of Artillery as not being in a fit state to receive the guns, consequently as day broke, we were ordered to return to the Park. Thus had three days and nights elapsed and nothing effectually done.

Sept. 10th.—There appears to be a great deficiency of arrangement and decision. Assisted in laying down a Battery for the two ten inch Mortars. We again moved from the Park at midnight and

placed the guns in Battery and found it in a most unfinished state and badly constructed as to thickness of parapet, direction of embrasures, platforms and material.

Sept. 11th.—Sunday at daybreak all eyes were directed towards Cumberland Head, anxiously waiting the appearance of the fleet. The breeze was fair and steady. It was understood that the troops were to attack at the same time the Fleets commenced action. We were all ready in the Batteries, and the enemy had not discovered us; if so, he did not condescend to open his fire.

We at first received orders to take up the firing from left to right, to commence a few minutes after the fleets were engaged. This order was set aside and we were not to open until a short time previous to the assault of the works. Another order succeeded the last. It was for us to commence our fire, and this we received after the fleets had been warmly engaged for nearly an hour. This indecision at such a moment was particularly distressing.

About 8 A.M. our Commodore announced his approach by scaling his guns, a signal previously agreed upon, it was said. At a quarter to nine the combat commenced, and in a few minutes the firing was very heavy.

Our battery, No. 1, on the extreme right, and consisting of two light 24-pr. Brass Guns, and one 8-inch Howitzer, was so situated that we could not see the shipping, owing to the commanding ground the enemy's works occupied being in the line of view.

The Batteries opened about nine-thirty, and the enemy replied with much spirit and precision. In about two hours not a gun was heard from the fleets. We were aware that the fate of the day had been decided and our anxiety to learn who were the victors was extreme. The melancholy truth at length reached us, that the British Flag had been lowered and that the whole flotilla, with the exception of the gun boats, were in the enemy's hands.

In No. 1 the enemy dismounted one of our guns and materially damaged the carriage of another, when we were ordered to withdraw them under cover of the merlons. We had the light brass 24-pr, charge 3 lbs., opposed to heavy guns of the same calibre, superior in numbers and having a commanding position. Our casualties were trifling, one killed and five wounded. A round shot stupefied me for some minutes, and an inch or two closer would have made me "shorter by the head."

In the evening we received orders to bring away the guns if practicable, and to destroy the ammunition. This assured us that a retreat was intended.

The guns were moved off about 8 p.m. and joined the remainder of the artillery and Baggage, retiring in a most confused and hurried manner, much increased by the bad state of the roads. I found

myself placed in charge on a Brigade of spare carriages, etc. Marched at eleven and reached Chazy at six-thirty a.m.

Sept. 12th.—Ordered to join the Heavy Brigade of Guns. Marched to Champlain and placed the guns in position.

Sept. 13th.—The rear-guard of the Army moved through Champlain at one-thirty p.m. Our advanced Picquet is posted about half a mile on the road to Chazy. The enemy had not the presumption to molest our rear. General Power's brigade had taken up its ground just within the American lines. Generals Robinson's and Brisbane's have fallen back. The weather for these last two days has been very bad. The heavy guns ordered to move to Odel Town, five miles, where we arrived at 8 p.m. The roads are in a most miserable state.

Sept. 14th.—The heavy guns ordered to Isle au Noix. I was to remain with a 24-pr. at Smith's Tavern, and at 6 p.m. received instructions to move with the gun and a proportion of rockets to Brisbane's house and landing place, 2½ miles, for the purpose of covering the embarkation of a depot of Commissariat and other stores. Lt.-Colonel Herriott and his Voltigeurs occupy this post. It is about three miles above La Cole Mill, and five from Ash Island. A Flag of Truce arrived this evening.

Sept. 15th.—Threw up a breast work to cover the gun, placed in barbette. Several of the enemy's gunboats came down with wounded.

There is a large proportion of Ordnance and Commissariat stores at this place, which will take some days to remove. If the enemy's flotilla were in a fit state, they could, with ease, prevent their being embarked, but in the event of their attempting to land, it would cost them a great number of men, from the confined scope they would find for disembarkation, and there being excellent cover for the Voltigeurs to annoy them from.

The 49th Regiment* embarked for Isle au Noix.

Sept. 16th.—The rain fell in torrents, and the roads are rendered nearly impassable.

A Flag arrived with more wounded, also Captain Pring, R.N. (the senior surviving Officer of our fleet), on his parole. He commanded the *Linnet* during the late action, and represents the conduct of the American Commodore Macdonnough as being the most delicate, honorable and kind. Thus they are making themselves respected by their generosity of character, as well as their gallantry.

Sept. 17th.—General Brisbane and staff passed yesterday, and General De Rottenburg this morning. The former for St. Johns, the latter for L'Acadie. Getting on rapidly with the embarkation. Suffered from wet and cold, being under canvas in an exposed situation.

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* 41st, the 49th was ordered home, Jan., 1813.

REFLECTIONS ON PLATTSBURG.

(*By the same officer as above.*)

That the 11th of September, 1814, was an unfortunate day for the honor of England, and that it was one of the most glorious experienced by the Americans during this War, must be allowed, though with feelings of the deepest regret. The retrospection of this day must give rise, to every well-wisher for the credit of his country, to feelings of the most unpleasant nature; to the troops actually employed it must create a pang that time cannot obliterate. The failure of the expedition occasioned sentiments of dissatisfaction and disgust such as never before agitated the minds of the inhabitants of the Canadas.

The grand scale on which the expedition was formed, the liberal supplies for the support of the Army, the great and deserved confidence placed in the materials of which the Army was composed, from having often been tried and opposed to the chosen legions of France, all led to carry the public expectations to the greatest height as to the result of whatever operations might be undertaken.

The publick mind being thus buoyed up—and, every impartial person must allow, not without sufficient cause—the effect produced by the complete failure of the expedition, or, as the Editor of the Montreal "*Herald*" expresses it, "by the sacrifice of the fleet and the disgrace of the army," is the entire loss of confidence in the Commander-in-chief; for every one must admit that no stigma can be thrown upon the troops, who were panting to meet the Enemy, nor on the Navy, who under peculiar disadvantages fought their ships with their usual gallantry.*

It appears that arrangements had been made to insure the co-operation of the Navy and Army, viz., as soon as the Fleets commenced action the troops were to move to the assault. This co-operation the Navy were led to expect, instead of which orders were given to cook!

That the army did not advance as agreed and promised by Sir G. Prevost is notorious.

During the Naval action the Column of Attack was nearly four miles from the promised point of co-operation, and when it was known that the Fleet had fallen into the Enemy's hands, orders were immediately given for the Column to retire. The Troops were at this time advancing in the highest spirits, driving in the Enemy's skir-

*In a note to p. 875 of "Lossing's Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812," he accounts for the sudden orders to retreat given by Prevost by recording a trick played on him by the Rev. Eleazer Williams, Commander of the Secret Corps of Observation, who arranged that a letter stating that a heavy body of militia were to cross the lake to the number of 10,000, 5,000 from another quarter, and 4,000 from a third. This was placed in the hands of a shrewd Irishwoman, on Cumberland Head, who took it to Prevost, who immediately ordered the retreat.

mishers, and moving on confident of victory and anxious to close. I am informed by many Officers who were with this Column, that they never witnessed on any occasion more animation amongst the Troops. When the order to retreat was received a murmur of discontent was heard in the ranks, and some difficulty was experienced in restraining the ardor of the Light Troops covering the advance of the Column. The feelings this retrogade movement occasioned were at the moment most painful to the spirits of the soldiers: it has since agitated the public mind, which must always feel interested and deeply concerned in the honor and success of the Navy and Army.

The general opinion is that, notwithstanding our Fleet had struck, in some measure owing to the non-co-operation of the land forces, the Column should have been allowed to follow up the attack, so as to have preserved the highly elevated character of the British Army and to have cut off the enemy, with his guns, stores, etc. Some assert that the guns of the enemy's works might have been turned upon the fleets as they were laying disabled in the confusion attending the close of so warm an action.

The unnecessary precipitancy of our retreat, or more properly speaking, our *flight*, on the night of the 11th, is spoken of with disgust and indignation—an army composed of 11000 of the very best troops, a large proportion of them inured to victory in the Peninsula, absolutely ordered to run away before 1500 of the most inferior description; and to the disgraceful rapidity of their flight sacrificing their sick and wounded, together with great quantities of ordnance and commissariat stores. What was to have prevented the Army remaining in its position to cover the retreat of its sick, wounded, stores, etc.? Surely the enemy was not to be dreaded!

The effect of this flight has been more seriously felt by the British Army than in the loss of stores, etc., for it has created a feeling of disgust from the General of Brigade to the Drum-boy; it has destroyed all confidence in the Commander-in-chief; it has also caused numerous desertions; it has deprived the soldiers of those innate ideas of superiority which animated every breast (but *one*) on this advance. And when it is understood that three of the Duke of Wellington's well-tried Generals and 8000 of his Veteran Troops composed the greater part of this Army, the remark cannot be attributed to gasconade. The following remark appears in the Montreal "*Herald*" of September 23rd, 1814:

"If a tenth part of what is alleged had any foundation, there must be a solemn national investigation, when the truth would be ascertained, and an acquittal with honor, or conviction with adequate punishment, follow."

The redoubts were open to a *coup-de-main*, and an attack should have taken place the first day. This measure was most anxiously pressed upon Sir G. Prevost; the unexpected delay gave the Enemy

time to strengthen them, which he did not neglect to do. Their capture would have compelled his Fleet to meet ours upon equal terms. The Enemy was astonished at our inactivity and momentarily looked for the assault; in short, if the opposite feelings to timidity and indecision had animated a certain breast, the 11th of September would have added another wreath to the Naval and Military Renown of Great Britain. (Signed) J. H. W.

MONTREAL, September, 1814.

"We passed Plattsburg, the scene of the unfortunate Naval Action in 1814. I was then serving in the Colonies and had a good deal of correspondence with Commodore Sir James Yeo, relative to the charges he afterwards exhibited against Sir George Prevost. The historian who would illustrate by facts the almost incredible imbecility by which the Arms of England may be tarnished and her resources wasted with impunity, should bestow a careful examination on the details of the Plattsburg Expedition. He will then precisely understand how war can be turned into child's-play, and its operations regulated, as in the royal game of 'Goose,' by the twirl of a teetotum."—"*Men and Manners in America,*"* *Vol. II., page 367.*

III.

PAPERS LOANED BY T. R. KENNEDY, LEVIS, QUE., OF CAPT. H. PINGLE.†

March 29th, 1853.

To Henry Pingle, Esq., Markham:

DEAR SIR,—I am in receipt of yours of the 15th ult., requesting me to procure the medal to which you are entitled for services rendered to the country during the War of 1812. Your medal, as well as those to which your comrades are entitled, will be forthcoming as soon as Major Button furnishes the Government with the proper Documents.

I have written to Major Button in reference to the matter, who, no doubt, will furnish us with all we require.

(Signed) AMOS WRIGHT.

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*"Men and Manners in America," by author of "Cyril Thornton," etc., published by Blackwood, Edinburgh, 1833. Preface signed "T. H.," and dedicated to William Woolriche Whitmore.

† Detroit medal and papers loaned by T. R. Kennedy, Levis, Que., to the Canadian Historical Exhibition, Toronto, 1899. On the medal the name is engraved Pringle, as it also appears on the commission as Lieutenant, January 24th, 1818, but on his commission as Ensign, June 24th, 1813, it is Pingle, without the "r."

DESPATCH ROUTE.

To all Concerned:

SERGEANT HENRY PRINGLE,—You are hereby commanded to proceed, with a party under your Orders, consisting of ten Privates of the 1st York Horse to Delaware Town, at which place you will receive further orders from Lieut. Merritt of the Niagara Light Horse.

York, 29th July, 1812. JOHN BUTTON, *Capt.*

I hereby certify that the bearer, Sergt. Henry Pinkle, now on *His Majesty's service*, together with eight men belonging to the 1st Regt York Cavalry, are ordered on an Expedition as far as the Deleware Town. And being on such command, they are entitled to the assistance of all His Majesty's subjects along the way, by furnishing them with Provisions and Provender.

W. ALLAN,
Major Com'd'g the District of Militia.

Grand River Township, 2nd Aug., 1812.

MUSTER ROLL OF A DETACHMENT OF MEN FROM THE FIRST REG'T YORK MILITIA, 9TH SEPT., 1813.

Ensign Pingle.
Sergt Wm. Robinson.
Privates—
1 Garret Wm. Jumbu. [?]
2 Moses Butts.
3 John Butts.
4 Peter Spring.
5 Andrew Spring.
6 Jacob Wurtenberger.
7 Justin Badgero.
8 Martimus Badgero.
9 John Hagerman.
Privates—
10 Philip Long.
11 Stephen Moore.
12 Daniel Widimen.
13 Samuel Bentley.
14 John Steaffens.
15 Philip Cartover.
16 Ebenezer Cook.
17 Frederick Shill.
18 James Johnson.
19 Antony Wonch.

The above is Exclusive of the party under Ensign Thompson, going with the boats.

THOS. HAMILTON,
Capt. 3rd Reg't York Militia.

Enscribed on the back—

Required rations for twelve men for three days from the 20 to the 22nd, both days inclusive.

Ensign 1 Reg't York Militia.

This is to certify that the bearer, Lieutenant Henry Pingel, volunteered in my Company of Troop of Militia Cavalry attached to the First Reg't of York Militia, the 16 day of June, 1812, and he served as a Sergeant, and he always dun his duty fa[i]thful during the time that he was with me

JOHN BUTTON, *Capt.*

Markham, March the 10, 1819.

MARKHAM, 10th Jany, 1838.

SIR,—You will please immediately to assemble your company at Hunter's Tavern, as, by recent accounts from New Market, a second attempt is meditated upon Toronto. You will please distribute the men under your command so as most effectually to stop the communication with the city. Major Button is requested to furnish you with two Troopers to communicate to me by express any necessary communication.

You will please arm the men in the best manner circumstances will admit of.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your mt obdt sert,

LT.-COL. CROOKSHANK.

To Capt. Pingle,
3 North York.

MARKHAM, 28th June, 1838.

I do certify that Wm. Nigh was not down with rebel McKenzie at John Montgomery's when he & his rebels met there to overturn the British Government, and do consider him a fit subject to get his gun returned to him.

(Signed) BENJ'M. BOWMAN.
THOS. MOORE.

To Major Henry Pingle, Markham.

SIR,—I beg to enclose you a Schedule of Rates of pay for subscriptions towards reconstructing Brock's Monument. You will give notice to your company to attend at Markham Village for Training on the 13th inst. Be particular in appointing Sergeants & warning your company. Let the men bring their firearms to the Parade Ground for Inspection. Your division is from & commencing No. 18 to & 35—5th and 6th Concessions of Markham.

I am, sir, your obt servt,

LT.-COL. CROOKSHANK.

Yong St., 2nd October, 1840.

P.S.—Your Subalterns are Lt. Fenwick, Ensign Wm. Robinson.

To Capt. H. Pingle.

SCHEDULE OF RATES OF PAY.

Cavalry.

	s.	d.
Captain	18	3
Lieutenant	11	3
Cornet	10	0
Troop Sergeant-Major	3	9
Sergeant	2	9
Corporal	2	1
Trumpeter	2	0
Private	1	7

Artillery

	s.	d.
Captain	15	2
First Lieutenant	8	7
Second Lieutenant	7	0
Company Sergeant	3	11
Sergeant	3	1
Corporal	2	9
Bombardier	2	6
Gunner (or Bugler)	1	8

Infantry.

	s.	d.
Colonel	25	0
Lieutenant-Colonel	21	3
Major	20	0
Captain	14	6
Lieutenant	8	2
Ensign	6	7
Paymaster	15	8
Adjutant	10	8
Quartermaster	8	2
Surgeon	16	3
Assistant Surgeon	9	5
Sergeant Major	3	9
Quartermaster Sergeant	3	2
Colour Sergeant	2	11
Sergeant	2	4
Corporal	1	8
Drummer or Bugler	1	5
Private	1	3

IV.

Order Concerning Presentation of Colors from H. M. George IV. to the Incorporated Militia of U. C.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
YORK, UPPER CANADA, 12th April, 1822.

Militia General Order:

No. 1.—The Lieutenant-Governor has much satisfaction in announcing to the militia of the Province that the colors have been received which His Majesty had been graciously pleased to command should be prepared for the late incorporated battalion, and which, in commemoration of the services rendered by the corps on the Frontier, are inscribed with the word "Niagara."

No. 2.—As the Officers and Soldiers who composed the late Incorporated Militia are now serving in the different County Regiments throughout the Province, the Colors will be lodged in the Government House until the formation of a similar Corps shall require their being brought into the Field, and the Lt.-Governor has no doubt that the honorable testimony thus afforded of the high sense His Majesty has been pleased to entertain of the Zeal and Gallantry of the militia of Upper Canada and the Proud distinction which attends these Banners, will not fail to excite the most animating recollections whenever the country shall again call for their services.

No. 3.—The East and West Regiments of York Militia having their place of Assembly near the seat of Government will be formed in Line at eleven o'clock on the 23rd inst., His Majesty's Birthday, on the road in front of the Government House. Their right on the Bridge, a Guard of honor consisting of 100 Rank and File from each regiment, with Officers and Sergeants in proportion, the whole under the Command of a Field Officer, will be formed in front of the centre, to receive the Colors, as the representative of the Militia of the Province, and will escort them to Government House.

By Command of His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor.

(Signed) N. COFFIN, Colonel,
Adjt-Genl Militia Forces.

MEMORANDUM.

It is suggested* to Colonels Allan and Givens to employ on the Guard of Honor such Officers and Soldiers of their respective Regiments as may have belonged to the late Incorporated battalion.† N. C.

V.

PAPERS CONCERNING RUPERT GEORGE, CAPTAIN H. M. S. HUSSAR, 1794.

(The following papers were loaned by Mr. Wm. George, of Bristol, England.)

To Rupert George, Esquire, Captain of His Majesty's Ship "Hussar," late Commodore commanding His Majesty's Naval Force on the Coasts of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, etc., etc.

SIR,—The merchants and other Inhabitants of Halifax, understanding that you are about to embark for England, Beg leave before you depart to express their sense of the manner in which you have acquitted yourself whilst the chief Command of His Majesty's Naval force on this Station was vested in you.

We feel great satisfaction, Sir, in the opportunity we have of thus publicly saying That your polite deportment and great attention to the Trade of this province on all occasions has given additional testimony of His Majesty's Gracious and Paternal consideration in the choice of Officers whom he honours with Chief command.

Your Zeal, Alacrity and Cordial Co-operation with this Government and the Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces, whilst we

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* This suggestion was carried out, and we find that "on April 23rd, 1822 (St. George's Day), FitzGibbon was in command of the forces representing the Militia of Canada, and assembled before the Government House to receive the colors presented by His Majesty, in token of his appreciation of, and gratitude to, the Militia for their services in the war of 1812-14."—"*A Veteran of 1812,*" *by M. A. FitzGibbon.*

† Veteran.

apprehended and were threatened with an attack by our Enemies afforded us great confidence; and when the season rendered your exertions no longer necessary in port, We saw you with great satisfaction persevere in getting your ship ready and proceeding to sea in quest of those Enemies by whom our commerce was endangered and His Majesty's subjects insulted.

As we have the best reasons to believe that your exertions have been highly beneficial in protecting the Commerce of His Majesty's subjects, as well as those of his Allies and friends on the coast of America, We deem it incumbent on us to take notice of it and to offer our approbation of your Conduct both as a public duty and as a mark of the personal regard and consideration we have for yourself.

We sincerely wish you, Sir, a safe passage to England and health to continue in the active discharge of your professional duty to His Majesty and your Country.

Halifax, December 20th, 1794. (Signed) HENRY NEWTON.

LIST OF SIGNATURES.

And'r Belcher
Hall, Bremner & Bottomley
Joseph Davis
John Masters
James B. Tranckley
James Lawson
E. B. Brenton
J's Stewart
Charles Morris, Jun'r
Foster Hutchinson
Jno. Newton
William Taylor
Geo. Smith
George Grant
William Forsyth
Dan'l Hartshorne
Geo. Deblois
Andrew Liddell
Tho's Wm. Denmark
J. S. Moody
Rich'd Kiefton
John Lawson
Will'm Williams
Thomas Tilly
John Boyd

Tho's Russell
William Kidston
Jno. Cleaveland
Jon Tremain, Junr.
John Stealing
William Millet
Robert Lyon
James Forbes
Thomas Boggs
Arch'd McIlmack
James Kidston
Ferman Grassii
Duncan Clarke
Martin Shier
Charles Geddis
F. Hutchinson
Will Smith
John Edward Kerby
Peter Marchiston
James Pedley
Michael Head
Pat'k McMaster
Wenek Allan
George Pedley
Edw'd King
Dn. Hall
James Creighton
Sam. Greenwood
Jno. Blair

John F. T. Geshwind (?)
Peter McNab
William Fitch
Peter McNab, Jun'r
Wm. Nums
J. B. Clarke
John Howe
John McKinstsy
James Donaldson
John Henderson
Codbler (?) Bremner
Edw'd Pryor
Jocolee Weller
Nichl Guest (?)
Thos. Goudge
Wm. Bremner
Enoch Wirwell
Peter Cashenbury (?)
Fran's Lawsons
Rufus Fairbank
Benj'n Carlile
John Thomson
Edward Smith
James Wooden
Constant Connor
Jos. Anderson
Peter Smith

[*Reverse.*]

James Moody	Jno. Geo. Pyke
Rees & Rogers	Mich. Wallace
Richard Chary	Benjamin Binney
Casper Wollonhaupt	Jon'n Binney
Dan'l Wood	J. Slayter
James Stewart	William Lawlor
Peter Donaldson	E. Potts
James Strachan	Chas. Hill
Jon't Tremain	Robert Hill
James Boggs	Benj'n Bridge
Benj. Salter	Wm. Anderson
George McIntosh	Thomas, James &
J. S. N. Binney	Wm. Cochran

NOTE.—The original address being defaced when signing, the signatures were cut off and attached to this clean copy by order of the subscribers.

(Signed) MICH WALLACE.

(The half-sheet on which these names are written is much discolored and worn at the folds.—ED.)

[COPY]

Resolution, at HALIFAX,
December the 15th, 1794.

SIR:

I received your letter of the 13th instant, representing that private Business of a pressing and important nature required your presence in England, and requesting that, as the ship you Command is not wanted to proceed to sea on immediate Service, I would permit you to go thither in His Majesty's Ship *Severn*.

I have to inform you in answer thereto, that I do comply with your request, and that the more readily as you will be able, from the service on which you were employed since the commencement of the present war, to give the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty a more full and perfect account of the disposition and Conduct of the Southern Provinces of America toward Great Britain than can be done by writing, an object of such importance, in my mind, that, had not the *Severn* come here, I should have sent the *Hussar* home for that very purpose, and you can also identify the persons of the * Americans who were taken in arms against us, should it be thought proper to prosecute them.

I therefore Commit my despatches to your care, requiring and directing you to return to your duty as early as possible in the spring, either in the *Penquet* or in any ship of war that may be sent to me, unless you shall be otherwise ordered by their Lordships.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) G. MURRAY.

Robert George, Esq., Captain of
His Majesty's Ship *Hussar*.

* Undecipherable.

VI.

SOME U. E. LOYALIST EPITAPHS.

"Remnants of history . . . in which . . . is saved and recovered something from the deluge of time."—BACON.

One of the most interesting of the historic landmarks in Niagara is the mutilated tombstone in St. Mark's churchyard, which was used as a butcher's chopping-block by the American soldiers, while the invading forces were quartered in the old church during the War of 1812-14. The marks of the axe are still plainly seen on the marble, and the interest of the stone is increased by the fact that the inscription shows it was erected as a memorial for one who, at the time of the War of Independence, chose to suffer loss rather than give up his allegiance to his sovereign. The words have been partially effaced by time and the treatment to which it was subjected, but have been reconstructed to read as follows:

"To the memory of Charles Morrison, a native of Scotland, who resided many years at Michilimacinac as a merchant, and since the cession of that [post to the] United States, as a British subject by election. [He was distinguished] for loyalty to his Sovereign [ ]. Died here on his [way] to Montreal on the sixth day of September, 1802, aged 65."

Nor is this the only memorial which testifies to the strenuous loyalty of that day. The tablet in St. Mark's Church to the memory of Colonel John Butler, leader of the far-famed and much-dreaded Butler's Rangers, which is headed: "Fear God, honour the King," will recur to everyone, as well as that to Martin McLelland and one or two others, too well known to be quoted.

The existence of these, and hearing of others, led to the hasty inference that there were many such epitaphs to be found in different parts of the country; a conclusion that has not been borne out by experience. Nor is the reason far to seek. The Loyalists for the most part came as refugees, having been driven from their homes and stripped of all their property. They found the country an almost unbroken wilderness of woods and swamps, and for many years their life was a desperate struggle for existence, with the forest for their foe. Those who survived had not means to enable them to erect durable memorials for those who passed away during the early years of struggle and privation, and the rude wooden headstone that once marked the spot has long since perished, while time has obliterated the inscription placed on the scarcely more durable sandstone that was used in many cases. Thus, in our oldest churchyards, there are many shattered and crumbling stones—hardly to be distinguished from common field-stones—which yet pathetically suggest memories

of forgotten lives. Also, some of the original Loyalist band fell in the War of 1812, and with their comrades in arms found nameless graves near the different fields of battle. From these and kindred causes it is evident that most of these last records of the founders of the province have disappeared ; those that remain possess an interest because many of them prove that, far from regretting the choice they made for king and country, their allegiance held firm to the last. Those noted here may be taken as the result of some summer rambles, as giving the barest outline, which others may fill in. To cover the subject it would be necessary to gather inscriptions from the other provinces settled by Loyalists. This has not been attempted, but among the two or three from New Brunswick, one from King's County is interesting and not too familiar to bear quotation :

In memory of

Lieut. Andrew Stockton,

Born at Princeton, New Jersey, Jan. 3rd, 1760, and died at Sussex Vale, May 8th, 1821.

Also **Hannah,** his wife,

Born in the State of New York, and died in King's County, Oct. 1st, 1793, aged 25 years and 4 months.

Lieut. Stockton was married in the City of Saint John, then called Parr Town, the 4th of April, 1784, by the Hon. George Leonard, which was the first marriage in the town.

Another from Carleton, N.B., gives something of the career of a distinguished Loyalist, formerly of New York :

In memory of the

Honorable Gabriel G. Ludlow, Esqre,

Late President and Commander-in-Chief of the Province,

Born April 16th, 1736 ; died February 12th, 1808.

Nor will the search for these wayside records fail in interest. What is looked for may not be found—probably will not, if it is U. E. L. epitaphs—but the seeker may be rewarded by coming upon

something unintentionally funny, as that on a stone erected to a young man "who was accidentally killed by the falling of a tree," and the lines "We cannot tell who next may fall beneath Thy chastening rod" immediately follow the statement. Or you may chance upon this warning, if in an eastern town, not so very far from Toronto :

> "Ye weak, beware ; here lies the strong,
> A victim of his strength.
> He lifted fourteen hundred pounds,
> And here he lies at length."

Or one may meet with something quite different,—

> "Full of hope and yet of heart-break,
> Full of all the tender pathos,
> Of the Here and the Hereafter."

As in the churchyard that surrounds the quaint old church at Stamford, where it is said of one, "Her existence in this life ended on the 10th day of April" in such a year. When at Chicoutimi some years ago, a search in the neglected churchyard, knee-deep in grass, tangled weeds and tall ox-eyed daisies, revealed the following tender record of one who must have been "lovely and pleasant in her life," for of her it is said, "She is speaking to God and to his angels of the friends she left behind her on earth."

A word as to the places where these old records may be found. Throughout the districts settled by U. E. Loyalists there are many private burying-grounds, some of which yet remain in the possession of descendants of the original owners. This custom prevailed particularly among the Dutch settlers. Of such is the Hamiltons' ground at Queenstown, which, it will be remembered, afforded a temporary resting-place for the body of Brock after the first monument had been destroyed and while the second was building. Such, too, is the Servos burial-ground, where many outside the family have found a resting-place, and that of the Balls, some miles from Niagara, with its darkened, time-worn stones, and the little group of graves, somewhat apart from the rest, where the faithful servants of long ago lie buried, giving us a glimpse of the patriarchal life of those early days. A hillside, or some conspicuous spot upon the farm was generally chosen, or sometimes, as upon the Bay of Quinte, the place where the wanderers had first landed was selected by the refugees as a last resting-place. One visited was situated on the banks of a stream, the high bluff overlooking river flats and winding valley, and the little town, surrounded by hills, that lies as in a shallow cup a mile or two beyond.

Many of these old family grounds have been broken up—the land of which they formed a part has changed owners, and in spite of

agreements and pledges by the purchaser, the sacred plot has, after a few years, been desecrated and memorials removed. Such has been the fate of that belonging to the once powerful family of the Butlers of Niagara, nor is it the only instance where such vandalism has occurred.

But generally some common ground was set apart, and neighbors and friends were laid side by side, all distinctions of creed being forgotten, as surely they should be. Such was the old U. E. Loyalist burying-ground at Adolphustown, and there are instances of it at at Stamford, Grimsby, Weston, Barton, many through the Bay of Quinte region, and in other places too numerous to mention, nor has anyone a complete list.

As to the inscriptions, by far the larger number give the bare name and date only, and it is but by knowing something of the story of their lives that we can fill in the tale. This is the case even with prominent Loyalists who were concerned in notable events; Captain Richard Lippincott lies buried not many miles from Toronto, but his headstone gives name and date only, and there is no hint to remind us of the romantic incidents of his life and the thrilling experiences through which he passed during the Revolutionary War.

Sacred to the memory of

Richard Lippincott,

who departed this life May 16th, 1826, at the advanced age of 81 years.

Many similar instances could be given. There is one in St. James' Cathedral churchyard here, and several in St. John's at Hogg's Hollow. Everyone who has seen this picturesque church, as it appears from the opposite side of the valley, nestling among the trees, with the hill rising beyond it, must have been struck with its likeness to the country churches in England; nor is a nearer view disappointing. Though plainly built of white brick, faced with stone, and quite unornamented with carving, it is yet so perfectly and symmetrically proportioned that, viewed from every side, it gives pleasure; and its situation on the brow of the sunny wind-swept hill is so fine that one has not the heart to blame the unpractical projectors who set it there, only to be reached by a breathless climb up a hill, too long and steep for the old, for the delicate, or the very young of the congregation.

In the churchyard surrounding it are several Loyalist epitaphs, but with the exception of that to Thomas Humberstone, which relates that "he was born in Philadelphia and came to Yonge St. in 1798," there is nothing distinctive about them, just the name and date, fol-

lowed by a text or verse expressing the grief of the survivors. It is, perhaps, a digression to note some of the other stones. Of one it is said, "She was a kind and industrious woman," while her husband was "an energetic and an honest man." This recalls the stone at Lundy's Lane erected to one "who died an honest man," which inevitably makes us wonder whether he lived as one.

Another large class of U. E. epitaphs mention the place from which the refugee came. Two or three of these are taken from the pretty, restful churchyard at Grimsby, where a profusion of white roses and lilies of the valley make the opening summer glorious, and the trim little church has a quaint, picturesque dignity all its own.

In memory of

John Beamer,

a native of New Jersey, who emigrated to Canada
in 1790, and died Feb. 9th, 1854,
aged 94 years.

Sacred to the memory of

Andrew Pettit,

born in Gaston, Penn., U.S., 23rd March, 1753.
He was a resident of Sussex Co., N.Y., for 16 years and
was married there, and settled in Grimsby, 1787;
Died May 15th, 1819.

Sarah, his wife,

born in Germantown, N.J., 6th November, 1758;
Died 17th October, 1841.

There are also monuments to the two brothers, Colonel Robert and Lt.-Col. William Nelles, which commemorate, as those last quoted, the date of their migration to Canada, and, in addition, the number of years spent in the land of their adoption.

In memory of

Colonel Robert Nelles,

who was born on 6th of October, 1761, in Palatine, on the
Mohawk River, State of N.Y., and died 27th
July, 1842, at Grimsby, after a residence
of 62 years in Canada.

In memory of

Lt.-Col. William Nelles,

born 17th August, 1769, in Palatine, on the Mohawk River, State of New York, died 20th April, 1850, at Grimsby, after a residence of 63 years in Canada.

These are examples of the records to be found at Grimsby and other places. That of the Nelles is noted, not that it differs from the two first cited, but because it is interesting to know that the large substantial stone house, built by one of the brothers, more than a hundred years ago, is still standing, a fine specimen of the better class of houses erected by the refugees. The massive walls, the low, broad windows, the quaint lines of roof and chimney impress one with a sense of solidity and comfort, and this suggests a field of research as yet almost touched. What sort of houses did the U. E. Loyalists build when the first dread years of hunger and struggle had passed? Is it not possible that there may be an early colonial style for Canada? Not much encouragement for this idea is to be found in books. All the histories, local or other, speak of the rough log-house, or shanty rather—few roomed and miserable—yet this house, with one or two other well-known examples, witnesses to something better. Mr. William Kirby, the distinguished author of "Le Chien d'Or," has indeed suggested that it is likely that the better classes of Loyalists coming from the different States would, as soon as the first stress was over, build houses resembling those of the locality from which they had been driven, so that possibly two or three styles might be traced, and in accordance with his idea has made a sketch of the kind of dwelling that one of the Dutch refugees from New York would be likely to build.

Grimsby churchyard possesses yet another interesting epitaph of one who was a leader in his day, and thought and spoke strongly on the issues of the time.

In memory of the

Hon. John Willson,

Born in New Jersey, Aug. 5th, 1776; settled in Canada, A.D. 1790.

He was elected a member of the Assembly of U. C. A.D. 1808; was Speaker of that body from 1823 to 1830. In 1839 he was called to the Legislative Council, and took his seat in 1840, to oppose the Union of the Provinces; he originated the Common School Law of U. C.

Died at his residence, Ontario,* in his 84th year, May 26th, 1860.

* The name of Ontario was changed to Winona.

The two which follow are grouped together, as showing with a quite unconscious pathos how deep and ineffaceable was the impression made by the emigration, with its attendant hardships and dangers, upon even the children of the Loyalists.

Dennis Woolverton,

born in New Jersey on New Year's Day, 1790; emigrated to Canada in 1798, and settled at Grimsby. Member of the Legislative Assembly of U.C., 1836-38, and of Niagara District Council for many years. Died May 23rd, 1876.

Elizabeth Dixson,

wife of James Cooper,

born in the Province of New Jersey; emigrated to Canada in 1788. Died 14th July, 1855, in her 83rd year.

After a long life, in each case exceeding the fourscore years of the Psalmist, the migration remained a great outstanding feature of their experience, and as such was recognized by those who came after them, as worthy of being recorded in their life's brief epitome.

It would be tedious to give further instances where the State from which the refugee came has been carefully recorded. Such may be found in several of the graveyards, and must always be interesting, not only to the descendants of those who there lie sleeping, but to all who care for our early history. Occasionally some further fact may be gleaned by the curious, as from the stones of the Bedell family in the old churchyard near the battle-ground at Stoney Creek; a churchyard still, though the old church, in which, on the night of the sudden attack under Harvey and FitzGibbon, an advance outpost of the American Army was stationed, was bodily removed some years ago and is now used as a barn. These stones record that Stephen Bedell, who died in 1837, aged 92 years, was a native of Staten Island, while Susan, his wife, who lived to be 84, was born at White Hall, N.Y., and it is found from an adjoining stone which gives New Brunswick as the birth-place of a member of their family, that Bedell was one of those Loyalists who first sought a home in that province and later moved to Upper Canada. An inscription to "the eldest daughter of the late Col. Samuel Smith, Queen's Rangers," recalls that noted Loyalist regiment, and is one of the very few

which mention regimental honors. Another example may be given from the old burying-ground at Homer, near St. Catharines:

In memory of

Solomon Secord,

Lieutenant in Col. Butler's Troop of Rangers;
died Jan. 22nd, 1799, aged 42 years.

In another class of epitaphs, the addition of the one word "Loyalist," or the initials "U. E. L.," bespeak pride in the name, as these from Homer:

Isaac Secord,

U. E. Loyalist, died April 23rd, 1817, aged 72 years.

Capt. Jacob A. Ball,

U. E. Loyalist, died July 24th, 1820, aged 43 years.

One instance is still to be found at Adolphustown, where the inscrip tion suggests that the sons were covetous of their father's honor "Being the son of a U.E. Loyalist he retained his loyalty to the British Crown to the end of life."

Finally there are a few inscriptions that briefly refer to their loyalty and to the sufferings it entailed upon them. The examples given are all from a single stone in the old Methodist churchyard at Weston.

In memory of

Henry Dennis,

who, an exile from his native State, Pennsylvania, and having had his estate confiscated for his attachment to British rule through the American Revolution, died a U. E. Loyalist on Staten Island in the year 1782, aged 62 years.

John, son of the above.

Who, also a U. E. Loyalist, expatriated on account of his services to the Crown during the same revolution, found for a time a resting-place in Nova Scotia, then in New Brunswick, and finally in Upper Canada.

Born, Penn., 1760; died, York, U.C., 1832.

Surely a tender humor dictated the verse which follows: "There remaineth a rest for the people of God."

The north side of the monument is inscribed:

To the memory of

Joseph, son of John Dennis.

A loyal and patriotic citizen, he served his country faithfully in the Defence of the Province during the War of 1812. Born at Beaver Harbour, N.B., 1789; died at Weston, U.C., 1867.

The following interesting record is found on the south side:

To the memory of

John Gray.

One of Frazer's Highlanders, under the immortal Wolfe, he scaled the Heights of Quebec and fought with distinguished bravery throughout the memorable day which added Canada to the British Empire.

Born in Mull, Argyleshire, 1732;
Died at Kingston, U.C., 1829.

One cannot but wonder why the last inscription was placed there, though from the stones near it is gathered that Gray became connected with the family through the marriage of his daughter, Ann, to William Stoughton, of Kingston, father of the Rev. John Stoughton, at one time Rector of Bath, U.C. A further explanation is given by a descendant, who writes that when the pillar was being erected it was felt there should be some memorial of one who had taken an active part in the great historic battle which led to the acquisition of Canada for the British Crown. Col. Dennis, therefore, had his name placed on the monument in Weston, although, as it relates, he died and was buried in Kingston.

Gray lived until his 93rd year, and his claymore remained in the possession of the family until a comparatively recent date. The old man was always ready to talk his battles over with anyone willing to listen, and never tired of relating an unfortunate incident of the battle which concerned himself.

He was, it seems, a man of fiery temper at times, and on the memorable occasion of September 19, 1759, being in the 78th, or

Fraser's Highlanders, under Wolfe, with the regiment he climbed the steep bank of the river and was one in the line which met the gaze of the astonished French on that misty morning.

When the opposing armies gave battle he was among the foremost in the fray, and managed to capture a French standard from its bearer. A young British officer, his superior in rank, immediately demanded the flag, and attempted to take it from him. He, indignant at being thus deprived of the fruits of his bravery, raised his hand as if to strike the officer, but recollecting himself made no further motion. Had he struck his superior he would, in all probability, have been shot; as it was he was reduced in rank, and having been a non-commissioned officer became a private. He, to the end, felt very bitterly the result of his hasty action, which may have been caused by numerous petty annoyances which superiors can inflict on those unfortunate enough to be under them.

The few scattered examples of these wayside records that have been given go to prove that the "King's men," as they were sometimes called, remained true to their principles—small wonder they were proud of the name, United Empire Loyalists, for it contains a prophecy. History speaks of them as beaten, and truly *they* were vanquished, but the cause for which they suffered was not destroyed by the success of the Revolution; their ideas have prevailed, and to-day we are looking forward to the United Empire that is yet to be.

SARA MICKLE.

Gaylord Bros.
Makers
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